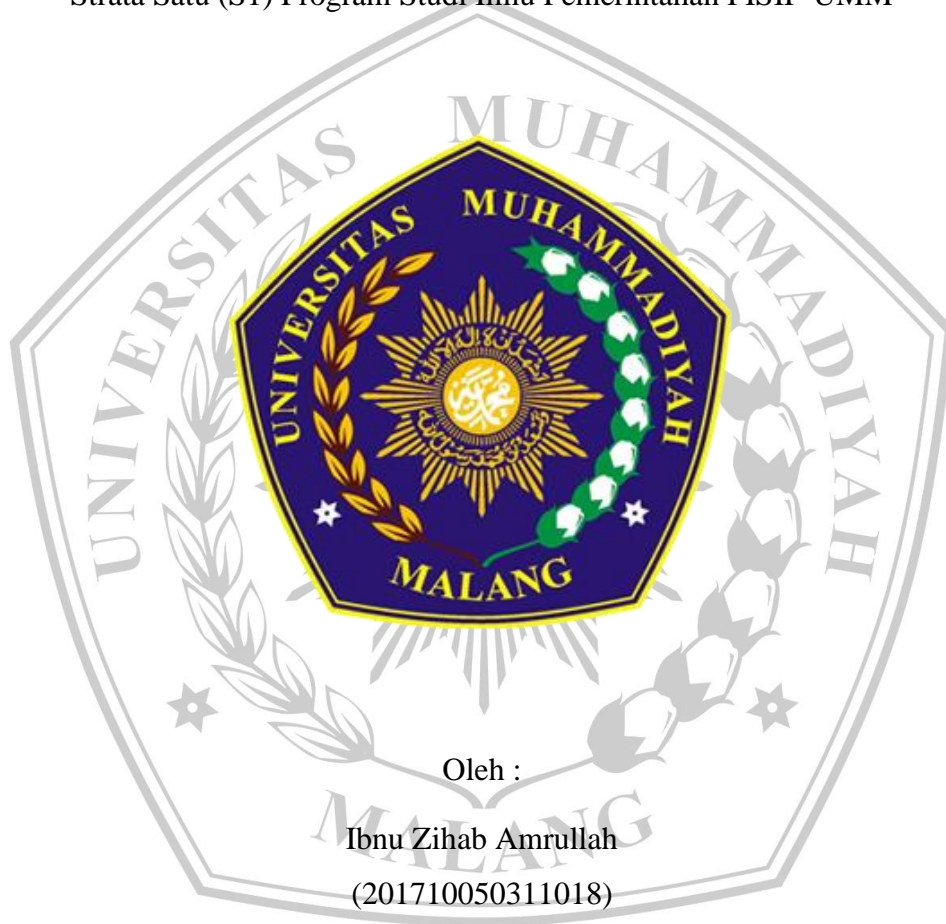


# **POST-CONFLICT RECONCILIATION OF RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS : PEACE PIONEERING WOMEN : A CASE STUDY AT AMBON CITY, MALUKU, INDONESIA**

## **SKRIPSI**

Diajukan sebagai salah satu syarat untuk memperoleh gelar Sarjana  
Strata Satu (S1) Program Studi Ilmu Pemerintahan FISIP-UMM



Oleh :

Ibnu Zihab Amrullah

(201710050311018)

**PROGRAM STUDI ILMU PEMERINTAHAN  
FAKULTAS ILMU SOSIAL DAN ILMU POLITIK  
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH MALANG**

**TAHUN 2021**

**POST-CONFLICT RECONCILIATION OF RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS : PEACE  
PIONEERING WOMEN : A CASE STUDY AT AMBON CITY, MALUKU, INDONESIA**

Diajukan Oleh :

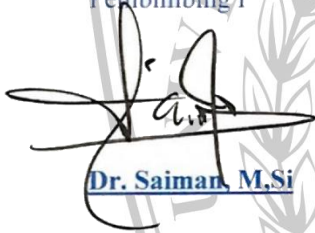
**IBNU ZIHAB AMRULLAH**

201710050311018

Telah disetujui

Pada hari / tanggal, *Kamis/ 21 Januari 2021*

Pembimbing I



**Dr. Saiman, M.Si**

Pembimbing II

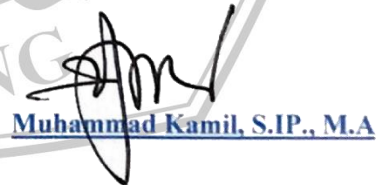


**Muhammad Kamil, S.IP., M.A**



**Dr. Dyah Estu Kurniawati, M.Si**

Ka. Prodi Ilmu Pemerintahan



**Muhammad Kamil, S.IP., M.A**

# SKRIPSI

Dipersiapkan dan disusun oleh :

**Ibnu Zihab Amrullah**

**201710050311018**

Telah dipertahankan di depan Dewan Penguji Skripsi  
dan dinyatakan  
**LULUS**

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(*[Signature]*)  
(*[Signature]*)

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**Dr. Dyah Estu Kurniawati, M.Si**



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## FAKULTAS ILMU SOSIAL DAN ILMU POLITIK

Jurusan : Ilmu Kesejahteraan Sosial, Ilmu Pemerintahan, Ilmu Komunikasi, Sosiologi, Hubungan Internasional  
Jl. Raya Tlogomas No. 246 Telp.(0341) 464318 Fax. (0341) 460782 Pes. 132 Malang 65144

### SURAT KETERANGAN

Nomor : E.6.d/ 738 /FISIP-UMM/VIII/2021

Yang bertanda tangan dibawah ini, Dekan Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, menerangkan bahwa :

Nama : **Ibnu Zihab Amrullah**  
N I M : 201710050311018  
Tempat/Tgl. Lahir : Waimital, 21 Februari 2000  
Program Studi : Ilmu Pemerintahan

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A.n. Dekan  
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**Dyah Estu Kurniawati, M.Si**





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Ilmu Kesejahteraan Sosial\*Ilmu Pemerintahan\*Ilmu Komunikasi\*Sosiologi \* Hubungan Internasional  
Jl. Raya Tlogomas No. 246 Telp. (0341) 460948, 464318-19 Fax. (0341) 460782 Malang 65144 Pes.1

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Yang bertandatangan di bawah ini :

Nama : Ibnu Zihab Amrullah  
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Jurusan : Ilmu Pemerintahan  
Fakultas : Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik  
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Yang Menyatakan,



Ibnu Zihab Amrullah

## KATA PENGANTAR

Alhamdulillah rabbil 'alamin puji dan syukur saya panjatkan kepada Allah SWT atas berkat rahmat dan juga karunia-Nya penulis dapat menyelesaikan penyusunan tugas akhir ini dengan judul **“Post-Conflict Reconciliation of Religious Sentiments : Peace Pioneering Women : A Case Study At Ambon City, Maluku, Indonesia”**. Shalawat dan salam semoga selalu tercurahkan kepada Nabi Muhammad SAW.

Penulisan skripsi ini dilakukan dengan tujuan untuk memenuhi persyaratan guna mencapai gelar Sarjana Ilmu Pemerintahan (S.IP) Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang. Penulis menyadari bahwa, tanpa bantuan dan bimbingan dari berbagai pihak penyusunan skripsi ini tidak dapat terselesaikan dengan baik. Oleh karenanya, penulis mengucapkan terimakasih yang sebesar-besarnya kepada semua pihak yang telah membantu baik secara langsung maupun tidak langsung dalam proses pembuatan skripsi ini. Secara khusus penulis mengucapkan terimakasih kepada :

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Malang, Rabu 21 Juli 2021

Penulis

Ibnu Zihab Amrullah



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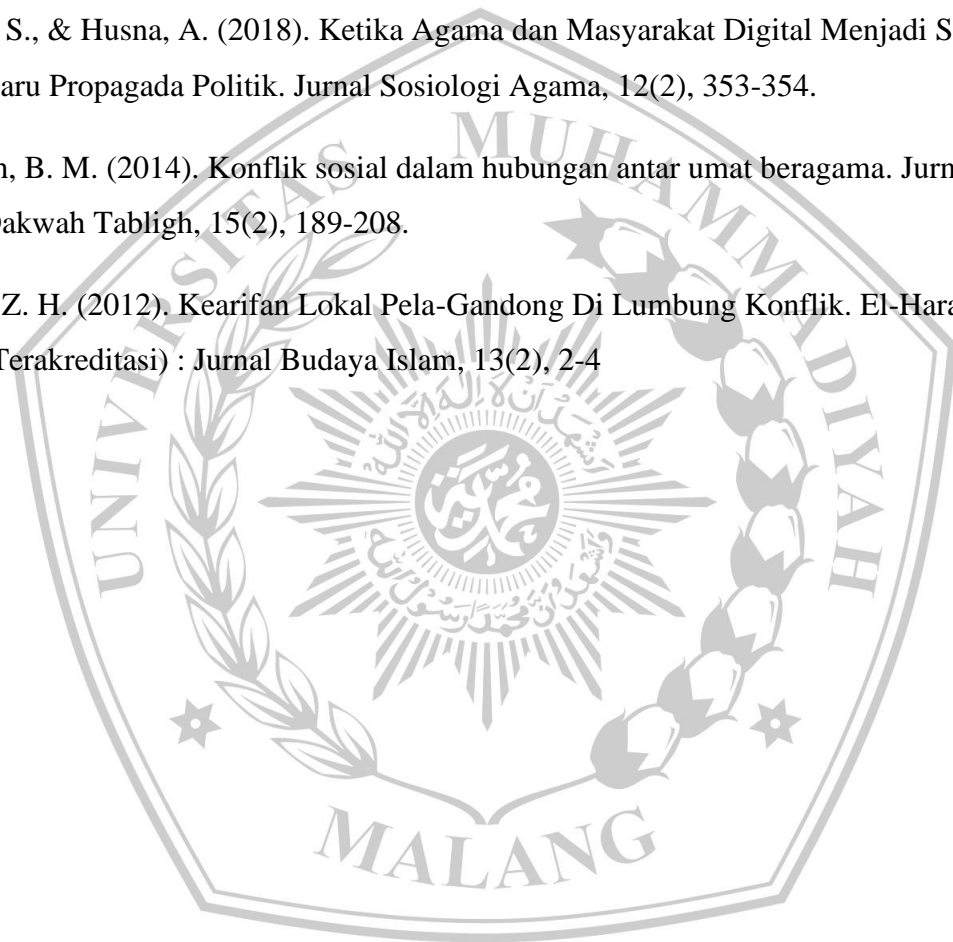
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# LEMBAGA PENGEMBANGAN PUBLIKASI ILMIAH UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH MALANG

Kampus III - Jl. Raya Tlogomas No. 246 Malang 65144  
Telp. (0341) 460435 Ext. 243 E-mail: lppi@umm.ac.id

## SURAT KETERANGAN CEK PLAGIASI PROGRAM STUDI ILMU PEMERINTAHAN FAKULTAS ILMU SOSIAL DAN ILMU POLITIK UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH MALANG

**Berdasarkan** peraturan Rektor Nomor 2 Tahun 2017 tentang pelaksanaan Deteksi Plagiasi pada karya Ilmiah Mahasiswa **di Lingkungan Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang. Telah dilakukan cek orisinalitas karya ilmiah mahasiswa berikut:**

Nama : Ibnu Zihab Amrullah  
NIM : 201710050311018  
Judul TA/Skripsi : Post-Conflict Reconciliation Of Religious Sentiments : Peace Peoneering Women : A Case Study At Ambon City, Maluku, Indonesia

Pembimbing I : Dr. Saiman, Msi  
Pembimbing II : Muhammad Kamil, S.IP., MA

Setelah dilakukan cek orisinalitas karya, maka dengan ini menerangkan mahasiswa berikut telah memenuhi syarat untuk mengikuti Ujian Skripsi pada Program Studi Ilmu Pemerintahan dengan hasil sebagai berikut:

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Ali Roziqin, S.A.P., M.PA



Malang, 12 Januari 2019  
Ka. Prodi Ilmu Pemerintahan

Muhammad Kamil, S.IP., MA

# Post-Conflict Reconciliation of Religious Sentiments : Peace Pioneering Women: A Case Study at Ambon City, Maluku, Indonesia

Ibnu Zihab Amrullah\* Siwach Sripokangkul\*\* Muhammad Kamil\* Asep Nurjaman  
Saiman\*

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## Abstract

This article explains about the conflict of religious sentiments in Ambon City, Maluku Province. The role of women involved in reconciliation and becoming peacekeepers to resolve the conflict. Religious sentiment conflict were one of the conflicts caused by religious issues. Like mocking each other's religions because of the racist acts or Sara issues about religion that bring about and cause division. Religious conflict in Ambon began with a fight between a local Christian with a Christian Muslim migrants. This conflict occurred on January 19, 1999, until the signing of the Malino II charter on February 13, 2002. The fight quickly widened into a Bergama conflict between Muslim and Christianity. This article also explained how to resolve conflicts until the reconciliation stage. In the middle of a conflict fight, came a great association of women who be a movement that is a movement caring women (GPP) to do conflict resolution or peace and conduct post-conflict reconciliation for women, children, and victims of conflict. The conflict that was the religious background in Ambon were the most devastating conflict that occurred in Indonesia. This article also, the author explain the role of government in overcoming and resolving conflicts happened in the Ambon City. The analytical

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\* Departement of Governmental Science, Faculty of Social and Politics Science.  
University of Muhammadiyah Malang

\*\* College of Local Administration, Khon Kaen University, Thailand

method used was a patterned qualitative method descriptive analysis. This paper using a literature study by documents and data covering all the conflicts in the Ambon City from 1999 to 2002, and news from related media about the conflict.

**Keywords:** women, conflict, peace, reconciliation

## Introduction

Ambon (Maluku) is one of the regions in Indonesia in the eastern part of which is predominantly Muslim and Christian. Religious sentiment conflict is one of the conflicts caused by religious issues, such as mocking each other's religions, or it could be due to racist acts or religious issues about religion that bring or cause division. The Ambon conflict broke out on 19 January 1999, the initial trigger is a fight between a local Christian public transport driver and a Muslim migrant who is of a bloody bugis at the bus terminal. The violence is inevitable and the conflict quickly escalated into a religious conflict between Muslims and Christians. The conflict escalated when the mosque and church were set on fire. when the conflict occurred in 1999 to 2002, there were 5,000 people killed and 500,000 displaced.

The conflict is the biggest humanitarian tragedy in the history of relations between religious communities in Indonesia. And the conflict is recorded as the worst event in the history of social and religious relations in Indonesia.

In the midst of the religious conflict that took place in Ambon, the women were present in the middle of the conflict, they struggled not as being involved in the war of conflict, but rather as interpreters or pioneers of peace in stopping the conflict. Women are also directly involved in reconciliation after the conflict of religious sentiment.

Ambon society, Maluku hang hopes that the conflict will never happen again. Because it is necessary to do social reconciliation by structuring and rebuilding social relations that were destroyed by the conflict which made religion a basic foothold.

## Introduction

The Ambon conflict on 19 January 1999 begin with a young Muslim man who is an immigrant with a diverse public transport driver who is Christian. The two men got into a fight in one of the bus terminals. The fight could not be avoided until it eventually widened into a conflict between religions. The conflict spread quickly, to small areas around the Ambon City. Then amid the conflict, women emerged to make peace, and carry out post-conflict reconciliation.

Based on the formulation of the problem, some important questions raised were: 1. What were the initial journey of the conflict and the root of the problem? 2. What was the role of women to be peacekeepers during the conflict? 3. What was the post-conflict reconciliation effort?

## Methodology

The analytical method used a descriptive qualitative method of analysis, because qualitative research is a study focusing on a phenomenon that existed at the time, and then described the facts and explain the circumstances of the objects found in accordance with the situation properly and try analyses to provide fact based on data obtained. And this paper using literature study techniques. The literature study is carried out about documents covering everything related to Ambon conflict data in 1999-2002, such as life history, laws and regulations, and news from the mass media relating to the case.

## The Theoretical Framework

A conflict is a form of violence caused by the social interaction of digital euphoria in a plural society in Indonesia. Indonesia is very much affected by religious issues, thus making economic conditions worse, security stability and the wheels of government. This concept, can be the resolution of religious conflicts from the euphoria of today's digital society (Rantona & Husna, 2018). When Religion and Digital Society Become the New Weapons of Political Propaganda.



Today, in the third world, as Uno Steinbach writes, conflicts can be caused by national divisions, unequal developments, cultural clashes, and liberation movements. 25 Tensions at the cultural level, for example, are strongly related to development. Culture and religion are unique factors considering both are mobilizing elements (Husna, 2018).

About religion, George Ritzer views that social change, which is certainly followed by a variety of conflicts, as a result of the political revolution, industrial revolution or even urbanization has a significant influence on religious patterns. This strong relevance gave birth to many sociologists and his work with a strong religious basis and at the same time introduced sociologists. Take for example Durkheim, Weber, and Marx (Husna, 2018).

The source of conflict as a hostile feeling (aggressiveness or hostility) that exists latently in humans. However, for Coser, the hostile feeling does not necessarily cause open conflict (covert conflict). Open conflict can occur in addition to being due to hostile feelings, also hostile behavior in the community. Furthermore Coser two basic types of conflict, namely realistic and non-realistic conflicts. The realistic conflict originates from concrete matters, which are more material in nature, such as the struggle over economic or regional resources. Usually, if it has been obtained without a dispute, the conflict can be resolved peacefully. Non-realistic conflicts are driven by irrational desires, tend to be ideological, such as conflicts between religions, between ethnic groups, between faiths and others. This type of conflict is one way to reduce tension, reinforce group identity. However, it is very difficult to find conflict resolution, consensus, and peace. In general, conflicts can arise from, for example, existing models of social interaction, values in the form of identity or religion, and structural dominance. In relation to the value of identity and religion as a source of conflict, using a communal conflict approach to the dimensions of primordial conflict views conflict as a result of shifting ethnic or religious-based identity groups. This this explain that

conflicts occur due to the meeting of various cultures, ethnicities, races, geographies (St Aisyah, 2014).

### **About Religious Conflicts in Maluku**

The conflict is preceded by a dispute between a thug who is an Islamic immigrant and a Christian urban transport driver who took place at a terminal on January 19, 1999. And in just a matter of hours, the conflict spread to a conflict between Christians and Muslims. The riots resulted in dozens of places of worship such as churches and mosques being burned by the masses.

The conflict even colored politics in Ambon, the victory of the PDIP party (the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) in the 1999 elections is seen as a victory for Christians. On the other hand, the Golkar party (class of works) is identified with the Islamic community. And ironically, the security forces were also dragged into the conflict faction. The TNI (Indonesian national army) as a close colleague of the Golkar party is believed to side with Islam, and the police are considered to side with Christianity. So that conflict is increasingly complex and more difficult to resolve because the authorities are no longer neutral.

Regarding the conflict that resulted in the dragging of all elements, one of them is a religion in Ambon, this can be seen from the phase and escalation of the conflict. The conflict phase, as has been written by many researchers, the conflict in Ambon is divided into several phases. Lambang Triyono et.al divided Maluku's violent conflict into four phases. The first phase is a conflict that starts with thugs who then continue with riots in Ambon. The second phase is religious unrest in Ambon. The third phase is the expansion of the Ambon conflict to the surrounding islands. And the fourth phase is the entry of lascar jihad led by Ja'far Umar Thalib to Maluku.

Based on several phases of conflict that occur, it can be seen that the conflict did not only occur in one event. But the conflict occurs continuously with other conflicts. Which is the initial sense that the conflict occurred in Ambon, and then spread to other areas around Ambon.

The riot in Ambon if it is seen or arranged from the beginning why the riot could occur because of a fight between two people who are Muslim and Christian. The riot started in Ambon and then spread to the area around Ambon. Therefore, Maluku conflict researchers divided the spread and escalation of violent conflict into several phases.

### **De-escalating conflict**

The conflict had subsided in February 2002, a reconciliation effort later by a team from the center although in the end, the conflict peaked again in July due to the re-attack of the Madagascar Jihad (one of the Islamic camps) which attacked and razed Christian villages.

### **Woman Become a pioneer of peace**

When the conflict is heating up, a group of women emerged pioneering peace. While the men in Ambon were busy fighting, the women were worried about the safety of all family members. Ambon women also think about what to eat and how to get it. When the conflict in Ambon erupted, the women assumed a double responsibility, as mothers, wives, and looking for additional income to support family life.

The response of women in Maluku to conflict varied or varied. Some Christian and Muslim women are eager to promote peace and try to prevent religious missions from taking revenge. While there are also several other groups involved in the conflict and supporting or participating in conflict with men of the same religion. In the Maluku case, it shows that women are not only passive victims, but also active agents, both in conflict violence and as peacekeepers. The women who were directly involved in the violence were caused because they were indoctrinated by the idea that by participating in the war, it proved that this is part of their religious mission.

### **Female pioneer of peace**

Some women peace workers are those who have participated in battles, but other women have worked for peace since the conflict in 1999, and they also

have never been involved in violence. These women are religiously inspired to interact with those who are different, both religiously and culturally. They are present and work as peacekeepers and reconciliation. During the violence in Ambon, several leaders and women religious activists established an interfaith alliance called the Concerned Women's Movement (GPP). This movement is established in August 1999. This movement is one of the first interfaith civil society movements to begin interfaith meetings and activities to ease violence and campaign for peace in conflict areas. GPP is involved in various methods of efforts for peace, and anti-violence. Began to take to the streets, mobilizing the masses, civic education, anti-violence training, performing arts, interfaith gatherings, peace sermons. GPP shows their success in appealing to their husbands and boys not to be involved again in the battle of religious conflicts that are taking place. GPP also cooperates in organizing publicity campaigns, trauma counseling, and training workshops for young people and mothers.

In August 1999, a meeting is held at the governor's house and is attended by a limited number of Muslim and Christian women. They come from high-level circles such as academics, bureaucrats, practitioners of conflict resolution, to religious leaders. At that time the Christian and Islamic communities accused each other of being the cause of the conflict in Ambon. But they agreed to continue and follow up the meeting for the reconciliation of Christians and Muslims. During the meeting they formulated the group's goals to: first, stop fighting and fight. Second, start and develop a series of peace efforts. Third, increase reconciliation efforts between groups. Fourth, fight for women and children. after that, to follow up on the first meeting, this group of religious women held a second meeting between Christian-Muslim women at a Catholic monastery in the Ambon City to discuss more ways to prevent communal conflict, Bina Damai, and reconciliation. Also, to elect coordinators for each religious group so that the movement is more effective.

During the conflict, GPP activists representing Christians and Muslims from various backgrounds and professions wore green headbands with the words "stop

violence". They make many headbands out of cloth and give them to people they meet in public places (streets, markets, or offices). The use of green headbands is based on several reasons. First, the green philosophy symbolizes "calmness, coolness, peace of mind and new life", and second is to distinguish between GPP members (and other pro-peace activists) from Christian fighters and Muslim jihadists. During the violence, Christian fighters wore red headbands, while Muslim jihadists wore white headbands.

After globalizing a large number of citizens to use the "stop the violence" headband, GPP initiated a petition concept entitled women's conscience (women's conscience). The petition is approved and signed by various GPP members, ranging from petty traders to religious leaders and bureaucratic elites. After signing the appeal, the women peace activists went to the provincial government office to read and convey "women's conscience" to the governor's office. The Maluku government then followed up on this, including calls on the government and authorities to stop the violence and rebuild brotherhood, which later became embryos of a government-sponsored peace agreement in Malino, Sulawesi.

Non-violence efforts carried out by the GPP are through reading stories in various workshops and informal gatherings where Christians and Muslims share stories about the suffering, survival, and difficulties of living in wartime. The GPP then formed a secret meeting for members of Christian and Muslim children's mission groups involved in violence and requested that they participate in art performances, especially music and dance. The performance ended with a song about peace and brotherhood where the two groups sang together. At the end of the performance, they hugged each other and cried, regretting the previous violence.

### **The female priestess is a pioneer of peace**

Ps. Dr. Margaretha Hendriks Ririmasse or better known as etha is not a police officer, but a priest who also works as an academic. He is noted as a lecturer and had served as dean of theology faculty of the Indonesian Christian University of



Maluku (UKIM). Ibu etha is a small group of women who have succeeded in penetrating leadership in the Protestant Church, at the national and even international level. Internationally he has experience as a moderator for the WCC (world council of the church), an organization of protestant churches from various countries. Ibu etha is known as the founder and leader of the caring women movement (GPP), one of the organizations that initiated peace in Maluku through a cross-faith peace campaign from mothers.

### **Women respond more quickly to reconciliation and are not easily provoked**

Ibu etha believes that women are better able to survive in suffering and pressure. Women are created by God to maintain and protect lives. These instincts are strong in women even though there are actually women who go to war, even supporting their husbands to fight. Women are more quick to respond to peace because they think of the future of the children they gave birth to so that there are subtle feelings or strong femininity values amidst the violence. There are even mothers who choose to die instead of their dead children.

No matter how hard a woman is, when talking about the child she gave birth to, it will definitely change her mind. This is proven in October 2000, many women supported this reconciliation.

### **The solution to conflict resolution and reconciliation**

Conflict resolution cannot be separated from reconciliation, because reconciliation is one of the stages of conflict resolution, namely the Peace Building process. Effective conflict resolution depends very much on three factors. First, both parties must acknowledge the reality and situation of the conflict between them. Second, the interests to be fought for must be organized so that each party understands the other party's demands. Third, the two parties agree on the rules of the game which form the basis of the interaction between them.

#### **1. Conflict Resolution**

The central government finally led a brief peace process in comparative standards for the signing of the Malino II peace agreement on 11 February 2002 in the Malino mountains in South Sulawesi. Two figures from the central government whose role is to carry out these activities were: Coordinating Minister for Political Affairs, Law and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Jusuf Kalla, Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare. The lightning process does not allow the involvement of representatives of the Christian and Muslim communities. Even religious leaders are not part of the public consultation. This made some communities feel that their representatives did not represent their views. Therefore, although the central and local governments pay attention to getting balanced representation, they do not give adequate attention to who is the representative of each party and whether they have the capacity and authority to enforce agreements. Malino II Agreement consists of 11 points, namely:

1. Ending all forms of conflict and strife
2. Uphold the supremacy of law fairly and impartially. Therefore, the apparatus must act professionally in carrying out their duties.
3. Refuse all forms of separatist movements including the Republic of South Maluku (RMS).
4. As a unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), then all people have the right to be and work in the Maluku region by paying attention to local culture.
5. All forms of unauthorized armed organizations, groups or groups in Maluku are prohibited and must surrender weapons or be disarmed and acted according to applicable law. For outsiders who confuse Maluku, they must leave Maluku.
6. To carry out all legal provisions, it is necessary to form a national independent investigation team to thoroughly investigate the events of January 19, 1999, Maluku sovereignty Front, Christian RMS, Laskar Jihad, Laskar Christ, and the transfer of religion by force.

7. Returning refugees gradually to all places before the conflict

8. The government will assist the community in rehabilitating economic and public facilities such as education, health, and religious facilities and public housing so that the future of all Maluku people can move forward and get out of trouble. In line with that, all forms of limitation of population space are opened so that economic and social travel goes well.

9. To maintain order and security throughout the region and the community, it is expected that there are solidarity and firmness for the TNI / POLRI according to their functions and duties. Accordingly, all TNI facilities were immediately rebuilt and their functions restored.

10. To maintain relations and harmonization of the whole community, followers of Islam and Christianity, all efforts and efforts of da'wah must continue to uphold the laws and other provisions without coercion.

11. Supporting rehabilitation, especially Pattimura University with the principle of mutual progress. Therefore, recruitment and other policies are carried out openly with the principle of justice and still meet the requirements of justice.

The settlement of the conflict in Ambon can be said to be "half-hearted" and has not yet touched thoroughly the roots of the problem. Because the local government is impressed only waiting for programs and funds from the central government. However, on the other hand, awareness among people (both Islamic and Christian) has grown to make peace and live again normally.

## **2. Post-conflict reconciliation**

Reconciliation is a scientific terminology that emphasizes the need to see peace as a conflict resolution process in several stages by the dynamics of the conflict cycle.

When viewed from the stage of conflict resolution, the current condition of Ambon is still in the preparation stage for peacebuilding, namely the initial reconciliation stage. Called the beginning because separation based on religion is still very pronounced. Segregation of settlement can also be seen as one of the

short-term efforts to support conflict resolution itself. Some indicators of conflict conditions still do not fully lead to peacebuilding because the conflict intervention stage still has too many problems to overcome. When the Malino Declaration is announced and it turned out to be a momentum for easing the conflict, the peace efforts that were driven by new community initiatives showed its effectiveness. In various places, peace initiatives were carried out at the initiative of the people, even though these activities led to the implementation of the Malino agreement. These activities include various activities from sports competitions, arts, and cultural activities.

Although life in the Ambon City has now become more normal, the government cannot relinquish its responsibilities. The government's commitment to carry out the promise of Presidential Instruction No.6 / 2003 to help rebuild Ambon, as well as help, solve the problem of refugees, the problem of ownership of land/buildings of former refugees, unemployment and job creation and the task of local government for good local government, cannot be postponed to fill and maintain the momentum of reconciliation.

There have been many efforts for peace and reconciliation in Ambon, there have been many training and seminars and conferences on peace and reconciliation with Ambonese.

### **3. Activities of women activists after the conflict**

After the conflict, GPP continued its reconciliation struggle by civilizing Maluku women with various training. This training is conducted because many women lost their jobs. The training is intended so that women can support or build their economies. And also for husbands who have lost their jobs, GPP provides a lot of assistance such as pedicabs (one of the traditional vehicles) to earn a living and provide scholarships to their children so they can continue their education. Also, the GPP creates children's playgroups with the theme "culture of peace and love", also to build trust among children. The GPP also brought together groups of Christian children and Muslim teachers who were veiled to teach them that good

situations are like this. Children are those who must leave trauma as soon as possible.

The process carried out by the GPP must go through four years. Furthermore, the activities carried out by GPP are those carried out during the post-conflict recovery period, namely closing the gap. This activity will involve men, as has been done for mothers to learn to live together as a way to stop the violence. There all elements of religion will be presented.

#### **4. Building World Peace Gong**

After the conflict in Ambon, the government tried to restore life in the Ambon City. One of them is by building a giant gong monument titled "gong world peace". Similar peace gongs have spread all over the world, the wrong one in the of Ambon city. This peace gong in Ambon is the 35th gong spread throughout the world. This large monument is located in the center of Ambon city activities or the center of Ambon city. Gong this had been destroyed by the riots of religious conflict in the Ambon City. The peace gong is inaugurated at November 25, 2009, by the 6th Indonesian president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. This Gong piece measures around 2 meters. The surface of this gong contains flag images of Countries throughout the world, in the middle there are several symbols of major religions that exist in the world, like Muslim, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and others. This gong has the Pancasila symbol in the top of the gong buffer and explains that the Pancasila is the ideology of the Indonesian people. Monument of world peace gong in this Ambon city is a form of nation's self-reflection about how important is tolerance in religion and state.

#### **Conclusion**

Conflicts in Maluku are often rated as animosity between Muslims and Christians, although the reality is more complex. The violent conflict in Maluku, which is mostly concentrated in Ambon, is one of the most devastating conflicts in Indonesia. The riots that occurred in the Ambon city and other places in the



Moluccas, were a result of engineering and had been set up for a specific purpose, including damaging the cultural order of the Ambonese community and damaging the economic system and the education system in Ambon City. This conflict is colored by the dominant factor of ethnicity, religion, or both at the same time which emerges as forming the personal identity of each party to the conflict.

There is no doubt that there are many reasons why there are groups of women with religious backgrounds involved in peace efforts. Women in Maluku, especially female religionists show that they are working effectively in efforts to transform peace and that they deserve support. Considering the central role of women, both with religious backgrounds and outside in peace efforts, it is time for those who care about peace including governments, policymakers, donors and international organizations to create and support cross-religious and cultural women's peace.

Reconciliation management must be preceded by analysis, by diagnosing conflicts that occur. The roots of the conflict must be identified. SARA nuances of conflict resolution in Ambon city are very diverse all because of the awareness of all parties to stop the conflict by peaceful means. In the national context, the central government must be able to position itself and play a wise role in responding to the demands and aspirations of the people to facilitate peace efforts.

The important thing that must be applied in the resolution of conflicts in Ambon and other regions in Indonesia when involved in conflict is that the method of conflict resolution must refer to the (Four) Pillars of Indonesian nationality namely, Pancasila, UUD 45, NKRI, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika as the legacy of the founding fathers of the Nation.

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